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# MIRROR

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## Loyalty vs. Slander

Many things are done under the guise of patriotism these days that will not bear inspection by honest men. There has been, for example, more than a little of insidious discrediting of men and institutions by the sedulous spreading by their rivals of reports that they are disloyal or pro-German. Those persons and institutions cannot always make adequate reply. But now and then some of them boldly come forth and confound their anonymous accusers with overwhelming facts in refutation of the slanders.

Recently the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association has done this in full-page advertisements in the more important daily papers of the country, signed by Mr. August A. Busch, the president of the institution.

That the Busch family are of German descent they never thought of denying. That two of the daughters of the founder of the concern married Germans in high military and social position most people knew. That Adolphus Busch was a friend of the Kaiser was well known. There was no concealment of the fact that Mrs. Adolphus Busch was at the family estate on the Rhine in August, 1914, and that she remained there from that time until about four months ago in order to be near her two daughters. Mr. Busch was much praised for his contribution toward the endowment of the Germanic Museum at Harvard. The family generally had many relatives and friends in Germany and their sympathies were naturally with those friends so long as the war was between Germany and the European countries, Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Portugal.

But when the developments of the great struggle finally brought about conditions that compelled this country to enter the war against Germany, the Busch family, barring possibly the girls who had married German husbands and taken up their abode there, asserted their loyalty to the United States. Mrs. Busch endeavored to reach home at once but could not do so. Nearly nine months were consumed in the negotiations and arrangements whereby she, an elderly lady, was brought to this country. When she was questioned, as all arrivals are in these times, she had no difficulty whatever in convincing the authorities of her absolutely loyal Americanism.

Of all this certain interests endeavored to make profitable capital. Some of those interests were private. Some were quasi-public and political. These latter were willing to use anything that came to their hand to make war upon the greatest institution of the brewing interest in this country.

It was whispered that large slices of the profits of the great brewery were regularly remitted to the members of the Busch family living in Europe. This was and is untrue. At the entrance of this country into the war those interests were divested of all participation in the earnings of the establishment and of all industries connected therewith. None of the earnings of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association were sent to any residents of enemy countries. In point of fact no such earnings could be sent under war conditions, if anyone wanted

to send them. The United States government has not found that any such monies were sent or that any attempt had been made to send them.

Parties of interest inimical to the Anheuser-Busch concern disseminated the story that Mr. August A. Busch, president of the association, had purchased some German government bonds in his own name and for the account of his mother, then living in Germany. This was true—as far as it went. But the truth was not fully told. Mr. Busch did subscribe for those bonds. But he did it in 1915—two years before this country entered the war, when there was no thought that this country could possibly become involved in the war, when the country was felicitating itself that it was keeping out of the war.

The bonds in question were publicly sold by banks and trust companies. They were publicly advertised for sale in the daily newspapers. Their sale was not a secret. Many citizens and financial institutions bought these bonds exactly as they or people and concerns like them bought British, French, Russian and Italian war bonds. The German bonds were sold at 84 and they were considered good investments as their yield was promised to be nearly 7 per cent per annum.

Mr. Busch and his family were of the German tradition. They had lived in Germany and had many friends there. They sympathized quite naturally with the nation from whose people they had come. There was nothing disloyal to the United States in such an investment as Mr. Busch made.

It was insinuated that these bonds were sold and Mr. Busch bought them to aid Germany in making war on the United States. The answer to that is that the bonds were sold on the assurance that money derived therefrom was to be used to establish commercial credits here for Germany, that she might buy things here just as the nations opposed to her bought supplies here. This country was not at war with Germany and no one, broadly speaking, expected that it ever would be.

It has been said that the Anheuser-Busch establishment was interested in certain schemes such as the buying up of daily papers for propaganda and the financing of concerns to take contracts for munitions and fail to deliver. The United States government has investigated all such rumors. It has never found that Mr. Busch or anyone connected with the great brewery had contributed a dollar for any such purpose.

That Mr. Busch and the enterprise of which he is president bought bonds to the extent of millions of dollars in the various Liberty loans has not been extensively advertised; nor has there been any exploitation of the contributions of the house to Red Cross and other war work of various kinds. Three million five hundred thousand dollars subscribed by the Busch family and its interests is a sufficient refutation of the aspersions upon their loyalty and a magnificent demonstration of the genuineness of their Americanism. And every employee of the Busch business has subscribed to the Liberty loan and the Red Cross.

The large newspaper advertisement, in

which Mr. Busch answers the traducers of his establishment, says: "As a further contribution toward winning the war, August A. Busch, president of Anheuser-Busch, upon America's entry into the conflict, voluntarily canceled all commercial contracts of the Busch-Sulzer Bros. Diesel Engine Co., of which he is president, and since that time the entire facilities of this \$3,500,000 plant have been exclusively devoted to the manufacture of engines for the submarines of the United States Navy. The engines manufactured by this plant are conceded to be the finest and most perfect made anywhere in the world."

Another quotation, or, in fact, two, will show what is the quality of the Busch family's Americanism: "Mr. Busch has arranged to lease to the government for the period of the war one-third of the twenty-six acres of floor space of the new \$10,000,000 Bevo plant, the best industrial plant of any character in the world."

"The manufacturing facilities of the \$60,000,000 Anheuser-Busch plant, in part or entirety, have been tendered to the United States until the end of the war."

The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association has plants covering more than seventy-five city blocks in St. Louis, and branch houses in many other cities and foreign countries, for the transaction of its world-wide business. These plants would make a large-sized city of themselves. The association pays annually more than \$3,000,000 in taxes—federal, state and municipal. It employs between six thousand and seventy-five hundred people, well paid, mostly members of union labor organizations, working under the best sanitary and safety conditions. And these people do not include the employees of other large industries established and controlled and supported by Anheuser-Busch. This is not the kind of an organization that should be destroyed by the circulation of malicious slanders. Here is an invested capital of \$60,000,000 that should not be wiped out by a people poisoned against it by the lies of agitators and business rivals.

The President has issued a proclamation prohibiting the manufacture of cereal beverages on and after December 1, 1918. This means not only the discontinuance of the making of the Anheuser-Busch brands of beer, but of Bevo, the renowned soft drink of the same concern. The plants of the company will be closed on the date designated and remain closed until such time as the government may permit their reopening. Meantime, Mr. Busch, the president, has offered to convert the properties for the manufacture of materials required by the government for the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Busch declares it a privilege to co-operate with the government in such conservation work and indeed in all other effort to defeat the German armies, overthrow the German autocracy and bring about a just and enduring peace in a world made safe for democracy.

Anheuser-Busch was founded by Americans more than sixty years ago. It has gloriously prospered under American conditions. Mr. Adolphus Busch, who was the organizer of its fame, was an enthusiastic and passionate

American. To Germans in Germany, yes, even to the Kaiser himself upon occasion, Adolphus Busch preached straight-out Americanism. There was no more public-spirited citizen than he in the best sense of Americanism. And his family and associates are Americans of the same kind. There is no need here to recount what Adolphus Busch and the institution he developed have done for St. Louis. There is nothing good and fair here to which he and his family and his various enterprises have not contributed in most generous measure. And in so far as he made beer distinctively the drink of the multitude he drove out of use the more fiery liquors and thus contributed to the spread of genuine temperance. It is not fair to his memory to think of him only as a great brewer. His name and that of his institution are associated with other vast industries—manufacture of machinery, railroading, mining, the erection and operation of palatial hotels and so forth. His investments were not confined to this city. They were spread out all over this country. He was a builder. Men of his quality made this country the power it is in the world today. He and men like him were and are the organizers of Germany's colossal downfall. His son who succeeds him as head of Anheuser-Busch is inspired by the same motives, actuated by the same principles. Those motives and principles are thoroughly American. Mr. August A. Busch, speaking for himself and the establishment of which he is the presiding genius, declares the spirit of the organization thus:

"We stand squarely behind the government in the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion. We regard the sacrifices we are making, amounting to many millions of dollars, as insignificant and inconsequential when we think of the benefits that will accrue to the world under the terms of the unselfish and altruistic war aims of the United States as defined by our President. Anheuser-Busch is ready to sacrifice everything except loyalty to country and its own honor, to serve the government in bringing this war to a victorious conclusion."

The country is in the throes of an agitation for prohibition. If the people will, they will. But however or whatever they will, Anheuser-Busch is loyal to the country. The nation may or may not go dry. However that may be, the Anheuser-Busch establishment will still engage in the manufacture of Bevo, which is not an intoxicating beverage but a refreshing and strengthening "beerless beer." The huge plant of many plants ceases brewing at the government's command, not only uncomplainingly, but gladly. It is out to win the war and to feed the worn and wasted world in the first times of the new peace. After the war and when peace is on an unprecipitous footing, "Anheuser-Busch again will take its place among the important and indispensable industrial institutions of America."

This, any fair-minded American citizen must say, is the spirit that will "keep the glow in Old Glory." Only people of soul small and mean can assail the loyalty of such an enterprise and its directing head.



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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor

### For Our "Boys"

SO many of our readers have inquired about a reduction in the subscription rate for the boys at the front that we have decided to cut it in half. REEDY'S MIRROR will be sent to anyone in the training camps or the fighting forces anywhere for one year for \$1.50. This is done in recognition of our debt to them.

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## Peace in the Offing

By William Marion Reedy

GERMANY has accepted the President's peace terms in her last note. The allies now set forth the terms upon which they will consent to an armistice. What those armistice terms are we may gather from the conditions imposed upon Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria. Those confederates of Germany have been required to give the allies military and naval control of their countries. They make absolute, unconditional surrender. Germany will be asked to do the same in effect. She must cease fighting, leaving the allied armies in commanding preponderance, turn over her navy to allied control, yield Rhine fortresses to the enemy, withdrawing her land forces within her own borders east as well as west.

With Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria broken, with the allies free to use all roads and rivers, the back door to Germany is open to the allies but closed to all food and supplies generally for Germany. Germany may fight on, but it will be suicide. The end for her is here.

Are the terms hard? What were hers to Rumania, to Russia? They are no harder than her terms to France in 1871. They are no harder than those she proposed to her enemies when she thought she was going to crush them all in six weeks. As for the peace terms proper, we only know the "fourteen points." The allies will not assent to Germany's idea of freedom of the seas. There was freedom of the seas until Germany attempted to destroy it. Germany waxed fat and great because there was freedom of the seas. She starves now because she sought monopoly of the seas through her sharks of steel. The President, transmitting the allies' terms, emphasizes the indispensable condition of Germany's compensation for all damage done. Germany may writhe under the humiliation, but she promised her own people that the war would yield them indemnities that would more than cover all their losses.

For Germany "the wheel has come full circle." She faces her fate, the consequence of her own acts. The "fourteen points" she has accepted are at once her plea of blood-guiltiness and her condemnation. With whatever of qualification, the points in the main will stand. Woe to the vanquished! She misses what she sought, loses what she had. She must pay the high cost of her luxury of war. But the allies' terms as formulated by the President call for no punitive damages, only reparation and compensation for her ravin and rapine.

There is no escape from acceptance for Germany. Now or later she must yield, as she made France yield to her. Yielding and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance in a democratization of her government, she will, if she acts in other than merely German faith, be taken into the league of nations—not a union of offense and defense but, as John Dewey says, one of "voluntary co-operation among equals to attain results which concern all alike." This is the moral peace outlined by Morris Jastrow, Jr., in "The War and the Coming Peace." This is the new internationalism as opposed to the balance of power and its complement of war for supremacy or downfall.

There are difficulties in the way. The greatest of these is Germany unregenerate. A new Germany of the German people will be a facility and not an obstacle. Is the new Germany risen from the old? We cannot say, because we cannot trust what we have been told by her spokesmen thus far. But the

terms offered Germany she can reject only to meet more and worse humiliation later on.

Peace is here, if for no other reason than that Germany cannot make more war.

♦♦♦♦

## An Election Post-Mortem

By William Marion Reedy

THE election has gone as—it has gone. Post-mortems in such cases are not usually profitable. Besides, the judgments of the people—as of the Lord—are true and righteous altogether. If we don't believe this, why democracy? Still, let's see.

The country trusts Wilson, but not his party, wholly. It will stand by him as President, not as party leader. So I read the returns.

Mr. Wilson's call for a Democratic congress was a mistake. It brought the Republicans out of the brush. They were for war, for victory, but not for a Democratic monopoly of the glory of bringing peace. When Mr. Wilson called on all men to vote Democratic, implying that only Democrats were loyal, he healed the breach in the opposition party that had yawned since 1912. He had gained office through that breach.

It seems to me that the disappointment of the Democrats is due to a certain too-muchness for the stomach of the people. Too much: South, monopoly of patriotism, possibility of socialism or Bolshevism, possibility of free trade, prohibition fanaticism, press censorship and suppression of free speech, bureaucracy, predominance of labor influence, and other things. Not that there was too much of some of those things for me, but too much for the majority of the people.

At this writing it is impossible to tell exactly in detail what has happened, but enough is known to make it clear that the Democrats with all their war prestige have not been approved as patriotism, Democratically defined, was expected to approve them. The Democrats are not demolished, but they have lost control of congress. The defeats of Ford in Michigan and Folk in Missouri, with Champ Clark elected, if at all, by a narrow margin, are examples of the futility of the appeal to put none but Democrats on guard. The same may be said of the triumph of Medill McCormick over James Hamilton Lewis in Illinois. The election of Norris as senator from Nebraska is evidence that his pacifism was not offensive to his own people. The Republicans seem to hold New York. But Walsh beats Weeks in Massachusetts.

What became of the vote of Labor for which Wilson had done so much, of the vote of the farmer with his wheat price fixed higher than the price will be elsewhere when peace comes? There's no telling, without the full returns.

How about ratification of the nation-wide prohibition amendment to the constitution? It was an issue, open or covert, in every state. In Missouri it has cost the Democrats a United States senator. What became of the "allies' vote, the vote of the naturalized little peoples for whom Mr. Wilson has spoken so beautifully and done so much? No one can say as yet.

All it is safe to say is that the returns show the people don't consider the war a Democratic property or virtue a Democratic pre-emption. I think, too, though I don't assent to the conclusion, that the people do not believe the Democrats have the ability to deal with the after-war problems.

However, this analysis of results is subject to revision in the light of further returns. As Garfield said, "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives."



## Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

### Self-Determination

WHAT a swat Missouri and Ohio have given the nation-wide prohibition movement! It is groggier than the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs as they prepare for abdication. Hurrah for self-determination here at home!



### A Splendid Official

St. Louis has been less afflicted by influenza than any large city in the country. This is due entirely to the fact that the city's health commissioner, Dr. Max Starkloff, took the matter in hand promptly and boldly and prevented large gatherings of people at theaters, movies, concerts, weddings, funerals and even bargain sales. This checked the infection and contagion. The ban upon crowds was carried out in such a manner that there was no panic. Some people and business interests lost some money, but there is no telling how much suffering and how many lives were saved. All we know is that other cities in which such precautions were not taken against the spread of the plague suffered terribly. At this writing there is agitation for a lifting of the ban on assemblages of the people, but Dr. Starkloff says it is too soon. It is better to be safe than to be too previous in removing restrictions, and consequently sorry. The health commissioner has no interest in keeping the lid on, other than preservation of the public health. He has accomplished so much good that it would be wisdom to await his decision as to the time for removing the barriers against our gregariousness. The best scientific authority supports him in his stand. He has shown himself to be an official of good judgment and efficiency. The city owes Dr. Starkloff the deepest gratitude for his excellent service to all the people.



### England's Problem of the Press

SOMEWHERE to the right of this column will be found an article worth pondering—"Newspaper Heir-looks." A reading of it will reveal that we have with us something of a problem of the press. We suppose that we have a free press. That it is a supposition only, the writer of the article in question more than insinuates. After the war the press may be freer than it is now, but not free of the fact that newspapers are simply a form of big business dealing in "canned news" and serving those interests with which big business is necessarily aligned. This country is not alone in its plight. For England has its powerful government-controlled press even as the press has been controlled in Germany.

Recently the London *Daily Chronicle* was bought by a syndicate, along with *Lloyd's Newspaper*, for little short of \$5,500,000. It is, or was, a paper of high standing. But it wasn't altogether loyal to Lloyd-George. It criticised the government for its action towards certain army leaders. Sir Henry Dalziel is made "political director" and the veteran editor, Mr. Donald, resigns. Sir Henry Dalziel is supposed to represent the influence of Lloyd-George. The *Daily Chronicle* will, supposedly, criticise the premier no more. All England is stirred by the change, for the change means a reversal of political opinion upon the part of a great organ. The political opinion is changed through the power of money.

This event moves the London *Nation* to an article on "The Prime Minister and the Press." Hitherto the English press has been free. Of course it was in danger of corruption through governmental influence, and there was the danger, too, of "the subtler and more incessant bias of finance and property in matters where public policy affected values." There were abuses but in the main upright and responsible editorship was the rule. But latterly there has been a great change due to what has been called the "Americanization" of journalism, chiefly under the leadership of Lord Northcliffe. The *Nation* proceeds to an analysis of the change that has come over a large part of the English press. It says that there is no more than a half truth in the statement that

"the new dangers found in modern journalism are due to the fact that it has ceased to be a profession and become a trade. . . . The modern newspaper does not merely or mainly set out to sell what the public wants. It aims more and more to persuade or to compel the public to buy the sort of goods it wants to sell, the sort of opinions it desires to impose upon the public, and the sort of news it desires to make current. . . . The apparatus of the great newspaper syndicate, with its tentacles stretching out into the remotest corners of the land, speaking with a score of seemingly separate tongues to an immense variety of different publics, employing the suggestiveness of startling headlines and pictorial illustrations, is incomparably the greatest of all popular educators. . . . An absolutely virgin mass-mind infinitely credulous and inflammable, gulping down every strong suggestion of fact, suspicion, or interpretation put before it, has been placed at the easy disposal of the great popular newspapers. The art of handling this mind is both fine and base. Comparatively little is achieved by editorial writing: the real power lies in the selection, rejection, doctoring, and presentation of news. The wise editor does not directly impose his judgment and opinions on his readers. He supplies them with "the facts" and leaves them to make their impressions. For he well knows, that, by turning on a constant supply of well-pointed 'news,' he can produce the effect which he desires. . . ." So much for generalization as to the working of the press machine in behalf of interests political and financial.

The *Nation* continues, indicating the special and particular circumstances in which the press is being manipulated for a purpose which the *Nation* regards as wholly subversive of popular government in the good old English fashion.

"Most prime ministers," it says, "are the accredited and chosen leaders of the greatest party in parliament and in the country. They are virtually elected by the people and exercise their authority in virtue of that fact. They have a great party organization in the constituencies which support them, and to which they look in the event of an election to sustain the cause for which they stand. Mr. George holds no such position. He was never appointed to his great office, either by the will of the people or of parliament. His authority is derived from and rests upon neither of these bodies. He reigns by the grace of the press. He has no other organized support except his large body of placemen in parliament. He has expended every art of adroitness and has employed all his power of patronage in securing and extending his control over the press. The following passage from a recent article in the *Morning Post* presents an impressive body of cumulative evidence to support this statement:

"The way the press of the country is being enlisted in the interest of the prime minister is one of the most disconcerting features of present day politics. The methods vary, but the result is the same. Lord Northcliffe, the first head of the British Mission to America, and now Chief of the Department of Propaganda in Enemy Countries, controls the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News* and the *Weekly Dispatch*. His brother, Lord Rothermere, was the first head of the Air Ministry and now does honorary work at the Ministry of Information. He is the principal owner of the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *Leeds Mercury*, and the *Daily Record*, of Glasgow. Major Astor, M. P., the proprietor of the *Observer*, is parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Food; Lord Beaverbrook, who has the principal share in the *Daily Express*, is Minister of Information. Of the important group of Hulton newspapers, including the *Evening Standard*, the *Daily Sketch*, the *Daily Dispatch* and the *Evening Chronicle*, the *Sunday Herald* and the *Sunday Chronicle*, the Earl of Derby was a director."

With such control of the avenues through which information must be conveyed to the public there can be little doubt of the sort of propaganda the press will carry in the forthcoming elections. There's not only the effectiveness of the censorship in keeping out some things, but the power of the free press-

stuff so abundantly supplied these days. There, as here, the papers could fill up easily on dope sent out by ministries, bureaus, commissions, etc., all with the one purpose, to sustain the men and the party in power. Criticism may obtain, to some extent, but it is necessarily emasculated. To those in the inner secrets of journalism there is a stronger parallel than at first appears between press conditions in England and in this country. Our press is pretty well in the grip of regulators today. Those regulators won't let go in a hurry. And they will regulate things for the benefit of their party. Even now almost any criticism of officials or of government action is condemned as treason. Such power grows by what it feeds on. It is time that we begin to work to break up the terrorization and subornation of the press.



### The Heroes of this Town

OUR St. Louis and Missouri regiments, the 138th infantry, and the supporting 128th artillery, have evidently covered themselves with glory in the battle of the Argonne. They must have left many dead on the field and the wounded are numerous. We may, even while honoring the gallant dead and sympathizing with the injured, and condoling tenderly with the families and friends of them all, wonder why it is that most of our information concerning the magnificent fight these soldiers made, should reach us sporadically and fragmentarily in the letters home from the soldiers themselves, and not from the authorities of the war department. It was rumored about three weeks ago that the 138th had been wiped out in the terrific fighting, and it appears from what can be gathered from the letters of the survivors to their families as published in the papers that the casualties must have been more numerous, than the meager official reports would indicate. The news of the deaths of some of the officers and men was known to some people for days before it was known to the families of those dead on the field of honor. I happen to know of many people with relatives in the contingent from this neighborhood who have not heard from those relatives in four or five weeks. These people are in painful suspense. In view of the rumor that the 138th was decimated in the Argonne engagement it would seem to be desirable that the people hereabout be given more detailed information concerning the big fight and the losses in killed and wounded. This is the more imperative, I should say, because of the magnificent spirit manifested in the descriptions of the battle sent home by the boys who came safely through it. From every account we gather that the dead died gloriously in achieving a victory of more than ordinary importance. The tributes of the officers to the men, and of the men to the officers, that have appeared in the informal letters published in the daily papers, are most inspiring. One feels as one reads that there is no more need of proof that ours is a democratic army, that there is a fine comradeship pervading it, but more than all that is the demonstration in these soldier boys' letters that each of them feels that he is fighting and his officers and pals have died for an ideal that is beyond hate and vengeance, an ideal that is the vision of a better world. The story of all the stories of the fight sent home by the fighters should be officially preserved by the city. The letters should be collected and given a place in the municipal archives, and the names of those who gave their lives should be inscribed in enduring bronze where the noble roster may be read by St. Louisans unto the remotest generations. We cannot too splendidly commemorate our dead, wherever they may lie obeying the call of country, civilization, humanity. And while we proudly mourn our dead let us not forget those who have come through the hell of the fighting. They are heroes all.



### Amnesty for Political Offenders

Now is the time that our authorities should begin to consider the subject of an amnesty to all political offenders under punishment for violation of the laws especially passed for the time of war. It is an old custom of governments to grant such amnesty



upon the occasion of the cessation of hostilities and the proclamation of peace. I have in mind now only such persons as may have been convicted for what in peace time would have been called heterodoxy in national political opinion—conscientious objectors, super-altruistic pacifists, argumentators against conscription, the people who have been condemned for foolish and frenzied utterances running counter to the general sentiment. I have not in mind the bombers of bridges and the incendiaries of munition plants and those persons who were caught in treasonable commerce with the enemy. All spies should serve out their punishment and all persons who were caught in operations of any kind calculated directly to obstruct the prosecution of the war, especially such men as organized munition making corporations to take contracts and lay down on them in order to hamper us and help the Central Empires. Surely there is nothing to be gained for patriotism by the full rigor of the law against persons like Rose Pastor Stokes, Kate Richards O'Hare, Roger Baldwin, to name but a few. The war being at end, there is no call to punish people for what is, in effect, no more than opinion's sake. There is no good in making martyrs of extremists who will then become the foci of agitational activities which may widen out to interfere with the handling of domestic problems after the war. Those poor Russians who have been sentenced in New York for expressing opposition to this country's intervention against the Bolsheviks would seem to be deserving of pardon. They may be anarchists but they were guilty of nothing more than talking against this government's policies. It is not inconceivable that some very good Americans may believe that the Bolsheviks would not have turned against the allies if the allies had heeded their calls for aid and for a repudiation of secret treaties. Men of no little intelligence and of undoubted loyalty to this country believe that the Bolsheviks are not allies of Germany. It does look as if the sentences imposed by Judge Clayton in New York were very heavy, considering that the action in ordinary times of the convicted persons would be regarded only as fantastic anarchistic fanfarronade. If we can exchange prisoners with the enemy, we can forgive our own people who may not have agreed with the majority as to war in general or this war in particular. The offenders against the espionage acts cannot be dangerous. Considering the outcome of the war and its larger significance, such persons are no more than ridiculous non-conformists in political and social faith. We may note, too, that none of these people did in any way actually interfere with the prosecution of the war. The government can afford to be magnanimous to them. Granted that in sentencing and confining them we have been just, is it not wise to be merciful? We are not going to wreak vengeance upon the foe we have defeated. Why should we be vengeful towards those of our own household who, in the cases I have in mind, did no more than exercise their freedom of speech? There is nothing such persons can do now to obstruct the government, if they should be absolved of their special war-time offences. There would be something fitting, something in felicitous conformity with the ideals for which we entered the war, in giving liberty to individuals who, however perversely and narrowly, held out for individual self-determination of their principles. Nothing becomes the victor more than moderation in triumph. "Pardon's the word for all" who have not sinned in act against the country and in behalf of its foes. A general amnesty for such, would comport well with the armistice and with the peace to which that armistice is but the preface.

♦♦

#### A Possible Hint

PRESIDENT WILSON cabling an acknowledgment of a message from the moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Church expressing the assembly's "warm appreciation of the service the United States is rendering civilization and humanity in coming to the aid of the allies and admiration for the splendid victories achieved by the American soldiers on the field of battle," makes reply thus: "It is very delightful to

have such a message of friendship and approval from our distant friends and I hope I may have the opportunity some day to tell you in person how much it heartens and strengthens me to receive such assurances." I do not cite this to call attention to the absence of an exchange of greetings between the President and the other churches of the south of Ireland—the dispatch I quote from is from Belfast—but to point out that the President hopes some day to tell the Irish Presbyterians in person his thoughts and feelings. This would seem to indicate that the President may be thinking of going to Europe, possibly as the representative of the United States at the peace conference.

♦♦

#### The Aircraft Report

MR. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES' report of his investigation of aircraft production has been given to the public with a sort of gloss by the attorney-general that has a tendency to take the sharp edges off its criticism. The attorney-general's interpretation and explanation of the findings were given rather more emphasis than the findings themselves. In short, the sting was to a great extent taken out of the report. This might have caused a big row at Washington if the filing of the report with its official antidote had not come synchronously with the collapse of the enemy power. The fact of a victorious end of our general war effort utterly eclipses all fault-finding with errors as to means and details. Moreover, the gravest fault with our air preparation was due to the desire of those in charge to put forth nothing short of perfection in aircraft. We could have ended the war sooner if we had worked on the models of craft in effective use by the allies. The report's condemnation of Col. Deeds and Col. Squier and of Henry Ford is materially softened by the attorney-general's plea in extenuation of them—for that is what his commentary amounts to. But the people are glad to forget all complaint in consideration of the fact that all the early defects and errors of production have now been remedied and our air service is approximately now what it was intended to be a year or more ago. The report of Mr. Hughes has not been published in full. If it has, I have not seen it. Doubtless we shall hear more of it later, now that the political truce is ended and there is sure to be strenuous opposition and vigorous criticism in congress of the administration. We should know something more than we have been told about what went on in aircraft production and especially how much profiteering was indulged in by the makers of planes and motors. It is remarkable that such a report should have had such an effective silencer put upon it, coming out as it did in the midst of a political campaign made incandescent by the President's plea for the election of men of his own party as being, inferentially, most to be depended upon to support a vigorous prosecution of the war and to bring about a proper, just peace. In the absence of a complete publication of the report and making allowance for the way in which the attorney-general made a "dud" instead of a live bomb out of it, the reception of the document in Washington seems to indicate that the presentation of Mr. Hughes' discoveries and conclusions is an eminently fair one. No one expected that it would be anything else, even though Mr. Hughes is a leader of the Republican party. So far as one may judge by the newspaper accounts, the investigator is not so severe upon the conduct of the department of aircraft production as was the pronouncement a couple of months ago of a senate committee that considered practically the same subject-matter. But if the report had been made four or five months ago, I have no doubt that, in the then prevailing conditions in all the theaters of war, it would have excited a great deal of indignation and condemnation. Now, the war is won. In everybody's delight over that fact what matters the extravagant expenditure of some bunches of millions, the perilous delay in getting into air warfare and the alleged incompotence of Col. Squier or the alleged improper revelation of war secrets by Col. Deeds, or the fact that Henry Ford kept a German in his employ as a draughtsman of motor construction? It

is significant that, so far as I can make out, the Hughes report does not furnish much support and comfort to those persons who have been most malignant in their attacks upon the competency of Secretary of War Baker. It would seem too that no blame attaches to Mr. George Creel of the Bureau of Information for giving out reports of the shipment of airplanes on large numbers to the battle front when in fact practically none were being sent. The information as given to Mr. Creel was presumably authoritative and correct, as was the information upon which Secretary of War Baker made statements of air-production progress that had to be revised most drastically, later. All in all, the aircraft report was not as loud as we anticipated it would be, but a small explosion as a result of which there have been, and probably will be, few important political casualties.

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#### Andrew D. White

ANDREW D. WHITE was a grand old man. He was a scholar and statesman, a builder and an emancipator. Dead at eighty-six, he will never wholly die from the memory of his countrymen. His monument, as much as the man's whose name it bears, is Cornell University—a democratic university. A catholic appreciation had Andrew White for learning, classical and practical. For the arts he cared as fervently as for the sciences. He did not disdain politics. He served in the legislature of New York and had influence with the practical men about him. He studied at Yale, taught in the University of Michigan and became the adviser and guide of Ezra Cornell and president of Cornell University. He represented this country as ambassador to Germany, and Russia. Most of the great men of Europe in his time he knew, and all of them in America. During his service abroad he set in motion the work of compilation of his history of the warfare between science and theology. The two volumes contain about all there is to be urged as fact against the absolutism of dogma. The book is an arsenal from which might be outfitted an hundred Voltaires, Paines and Ingersolls. Roman Catholic and some other theologians take violent issue with his history no less than with his reasoning thereon, but the work is exceptionally well documented at every critical point and constitutes an overwhelming demolition of the entire structure of theology as usually understood not alone before but long after the Reformation. He was a commissioner from this country at the Hague conference in 1899. A wonderfully illuminative book is his volume, "Seven Great Statesmen," and not the least so in the studies therein of Grotius, Stein and Bismarck. He was an authority upon the French Revolution, and Erasmus was one of his favorite heroes. He was sympathetic to every man and with every period in history that revolted against any authority based upon anything but human reason and the will of the governed. That he had a sense of some of the iniquity in some forms of property was shown in his essay upon Turgot. He was instrumental in bringing Goldwin Smith to Cornell to lecture upon history after Smith had had his famous quarrel with Beaconsfield. The service he rendered sane finance by his writings upon the evils of paper money and inflation was beyond computation. His ideas were the very spirit of the battle for sound money in this country in 1896. For all his distinctions, and they were many, he was a very simple man, companionable with young and old, possessed of a fine taste in literature and master of an easy, graceful style. At Cornell he was universally beloved. To the end he was interested in everything pertaining to the university and was a lively member at the longest of the very recent sittings of the board of trustees, full of worldly wisdom, prolific in pointed reminiscence and a perennial fountain of good stories. He was a cosmopolite but an American over all. And his teaching experience ranging from Dartmouth to Tulane saved him from any suspicion of sectionalism. He had taken post-graduate courses at the Sorbonne and at the University of Berlin, while he had degrees from almost every great university in the world. To Cornell he personally con-



tributed \$300,000, founded its school of history and political science and gave thereto his splendid library of 40,000 volumes. All these things one may learn of him from the pages of "Who's Who," but the mind of the man, broadly liberal and tolerant in all things, can be found only in his books. The man himself, unfortunately, cannot be known as he was known to those with whom he was brought in contact. His was a deep, broad sympathy for everything human and despite his years he was young to the very last. And no youngest heart about him in the past four years was fierier than his for the freedom of the world and the crushing of *Kultur*. He will bulk large in the history of education in this country and in the history of the breaking of all the shackles of any authority having its source outside of the individual conscience and will.



#### A Guess as to Russia

Now it is reported the Bolshevik government of Russia will not pay the remaining third of the indemnity exacted by Germany under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Probably, though not necessarily, this means that the Bolsheviks will reconsider their determination to repudiate Russia's indebtedness to Great Britain, France and the United States and the citizens thereof. Germany can neither harm nor help the Bolsheviks now. Her downfall means probably the early downfall of Lenine and Trotzky and the ending of the Terror. This may be very well, so far as it goes; but the one thing the Bolsheviks gave the peasants, the one thing the peasants passionately wanted, was the land, and that land must not be taken away from them. The United States and the allies must not fight the battle for the restoration to power of the land-owning oligarchy that is the core of the counter revolution. If the peasants shall be permitted to have and to hold the land there will be little difficulty comparatively in restoring order in Russia. I cannot believe all the stories to the effect that there is no government of any kind in Russia. There is good testimony that there is a government functioning fairly well, all things considered, and even carrying out on quite a large scale a programme of social reconstruction not quite so drastically bloodthirsty as we have been led to believe. It is said that Lenine and Trotzky have very considerably modified their original communist socialist proposals and reduced them to some semblance of what we would call advanced democracy. From quarters not wholly to be distrusted comes vigorous insistence that the documents recently published in this country showing the Bolshevik leaders to be tools of the German high command even to the point of carrying out assassination at its orders, are rank and villainous forgeries. The attempt to prove them so in a New York criminal trial was recently choked off as incompetent and irrelevant to the issue in hand. It is said that there is not an Associated Press correspondent in Russia and that any other correspondents there are under a censorship that amounts to a complete smothering of news communication. The Bolsheviks have one censorship, we may suppose, and the United States and allied expeditionary forces have others, whether at Archangel or at Vladivostok. There is no dependable news from Russia as to its domestic conditions. We get the official military news but nothing else. We know that British, French and Russian financial interests are in more or less sympathy with the land-owning bourgeois reactionary movement. That the reaction is strengthened by the excesses of the Terrorists in Petrograd, Moscow and elsewhere in the empire is undoubtedly true. But the fact that stands out in my mind as to Russia is that the revolution took the longest step yet taken anywhere towards that democracy for which we are making the world safe—the destruction of land monopoly. That means more than anything else the freeing of individual opportunity there. It is the destruction of the very foundation of oligarchy and autocracy. It is to be hoped that whatever the military expeditions of the allies and the United States may do in the land of the erstwhile czars, they will not set up again the tyranny of Russian landlordism

that has kept the great masses in brutalized ignorance. The crimes of the Bolsheviks may be heinously great, as doubtless they are, from all accounts, but not even such wrongs as these fanatics may have wrought can be regarded as justification for our restoring to power the men whose extortions and cruelties are more than anything else responsible for the retribution that is being visited upon them by their victims aforesaid. Now is the time to keep our pledge to stand by Russia and the Russians. The way to do this is to confirm the decree of the revolution that the land of Russia belongs to the Russian people, not they to the land that is held by their overlords.



### Reality

By Susan M. Boogher

DISTANT rumbling of artillery sleepily suggested the far horizon thunder that abates into silence when the storm has passed. In the long corridor where the hopeless cases waited, a man opened reluctant eyes at the sound of a woman's voice that murmured, "Water." . . . The nurse was bent above the limp form so that the opening eyes gazed directly into hers; their weariness stiffened suddenly into surprise, denial, a thousand flittering things at once, then settled into recognition.

"You!" The man's voice winced with joy. "So it's you I find . . . and reality again . . . in death." His hand that lay immobile on the coverlet stirred with the faintest suggestion of a shrug.

The woman was touching with soft fingers the bandage that striped the man's forehead. "You must not speak," she admonished, but her tone carried its contradiction.

"After all the years," the man reproached, "you'll not still keep me silent? . . . Often I've wondered—often I've longed to seek you out and ask you—if that twilight hour we spent together was reality to you?" He searched her eyes with sick intensity. "That hour on the sand-dune near the sound was real to me! More real than all the seeming realities of my life. More real than this getting myself killed. More real than anything till now! . . . Do you remember," a half-smile relaxed the intensity of his far-focussed vision, "do you remember the gull dipping and soaring and sweeping over the grey water, and what you said to me of loneliness? Do you remember?" He clutched her arm excitedly.

"Yes," she answered, "I remember . . . the gull upon the waters . . . loneliness." . . .

The man smiled happily. "To have found you now is worth the loneliness . . . the silence." Then his eyes grew bitter; he was staring at her broodingly. "If I—if I had come to you what would you have answered me, I wonder, out of the silence?"

"What should I have answered you out of the silence?" she echoed. And in the silence that followed she stooped quickly to slip a supporting arm beneath the convulsively upraised form.

"Tell me," his hot eyes flamed through the tears upon her lashes, "tell me that our inconsequential moments together were reality to you! Tell me these moments are reality to you!"

"Yes! Yes!" she acquiesced. "This is reality to me! Reality." . . .

As she lowered the suddenly rigid form, she was recalled to her surroundings by the insistent drip as of heavy tears of the water that trickled along the coverlet from the overturned, forgotten cup and splashed upon the floor.

The orderly attending her rescued the fallen cup. "You knew him?" he questioned blankly.

The woman spread the sheet above the dead man's face. It is the most final of gestures. . . . When she had smoothed out the last crease, she answered the orderly. "I never saw him before," she said.

In the long corridor where the hopeless cases waited, distant rumbling of artillery sleepily suggested the far horizon thunder that abates into silence when the storm has passed.

## Songs of The Unknown Lover

By Witter Bynner

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### BOOK THREE

"Lithe as an arrow you come."

#### THE WOUND

S HALL the wound of the world be my wound,  
That I cannot shake off the cold hands of clay?

I have seen a golden-white face, young and close to mine,  
Dear and unknown, waken and vanish away,  
I have seen the most deeply-known of all faces  
deepen and vanish away,  
I have distilled from the sun  
And from the cool of evenings and of dawns  
And from the beauty of all my strangers, one by one,  
My potion. I have drunk my fill. . . .  
O let me lift the cup to you, strange god, to say  
That I have no more will  
To shake off now the moon-cold hands of clay.  
I drain the cup to you, white stranger, who arrive  
With wounds and madness; the wound of the world,  
my wound.



#### THE BELOVED STRANGER

Lithe as an arrow you come, sped by an angel,  
Tipped with the spirit of wings and pointed with pain—

Only from heaven could fall the dart of your presence  
Blinding as the lightning, blown as summer rain.

Herald of heaven you are and the dancing height  
of wonder,

Visible soul of singing, moving breath of breath,  
The dancers of the earth aspire to be winged always,  
But you are the dancer of heaven, yearning for death.

How I ache to ease you, reaching with my fingers,  
Straining with my heart, through the empty air!—  
I would take your beauty into my hands and break it  
And stand before you breathless and be the perfect slayer.

Must you still in heaven dance with all the angels  
And weary of them, leave them and wander down  
the sky,

Living . . . living . . . living . . . living,  
Yearning and dancing, and no way to die?



#### NO EASE

I will not think of you too much,  
Lest I become as a king of olden hell,  
Surrounded by a ring of flame.

And it is a trouble to you,  
And no ease to me.

For if I thought of you too much,  
I should fall through space  
And there would be no world for me at all.

And I can still go about the world  
As valiant as a beggar with one shoe,  
As valiant as a crab with one quick claw—  
If I do not think of you too much.



#### LAUREL

I will not call you beautiful again  
Though my throat ache with the silence of refrain—  
ing



And not a sigh will I explain  
Though my hands fill with explaining. . .

For you are as beautiful as a hill I know  
In spring, breathing with light—  
But as soon as I told you, a chill like snow  
Covered and turned you white.

I will not call you beautiful again,  
Your labyrinthine loveliness I will not name;  
I will be silent as forgotten men  
Dead beyond blame.

No matter how your airs of spring beguile,  
Be it my fortitude, my business, my endeavor,  
Not to acclaim the laurel of your smile—  
Except today, tomorrow and forever!



# CERTAINTY

Does it mean nothing to you that I love you? . . .  
It would mean as little were I Michael Angelo.  
You would put out your dancing fingers,  
Those quick hands,  
And say, "No, do not love me."

But that is what I love,  
Your certainty—  
Of which on all the earth  
There is very little.

(To be continued)



## Newspaper Heirlooms

By B. H. P.

**S**PEAKING of the remarkable disposition Bennett the Younger made of his two New York newspapers, the *Herald* and *Telegram*, and of the probable effect on the future of the properties, the *Nation*, our weekly of sanity and progressive ideas, asked recently: "Can the growing chasm between the American press and the plain people be bridged in this way?"

No effort was made to show that any such chasm exists. Its existence is assumed as too well recognized to require argument or citation of proof—not an especially violent assumption. Of course, the American press itself would be strangely moved by such an assumption, if made in a less incidental and unassertive way and not as a passing remark well down in the body of a discussion on the will of a journalistic decedent. "Chasm! Chasm, between us and the plain people? Why we are the plain people," it would remark menacingly. With further complacent exercise of the editorial "we," it would turn its ponderous editorial machinery into manufacture of standardized ridicule of the idea.

But the plain people know the chasm is there. It is one of the most obvious facts in their consciousness. "Growing" may have been an adjective properly applied to the chasm in the years preceding the war. Its metaphor supplies only an enfeebled, minimizing term now. Nothing in nature ever grew as fast as this chasm has widened since the war began.

If a survey the country through discloses the American press fallen to the lowermost levels in its history as regards independence and fearlessness, a closer view discloses an extraordinary condition that may, perhaps, be one of the reasons for it.

Where in the entire country is there a really great newspaper property now controlled and personally conducted by the mind that created it, barring the Hearst newspapers, which are *sui generis* and, anyway, of small repute among the thoughtful, and barring, perhaps, one other notable exception?

Take the *Herald*, the *World* morning and evening, and the *Tribune* out of New York and newspaperdom there in the country's metropolis would be revolutionized. And still the *Herald* passed many

years ago from the hand of its founder to become, under an heir who very soon expatriated himself, only a shadow of its former strength and aggressiveness. If plain, average citizens have longed many times during the war for the reappearance of Mr. Pulitzer for a single week, for a single day, they have had constant reminders that morning *World* and evening *World* are run by the Pulitzer heirs. The *Tribune*, for a long time conducted by one of the least of its old proprietors, has now reached the diminuendo of one of the assets in the inventory of that least's estate. Papers which are organs of The Family, not organs of public opinion, are also found in the great cities of up-state New York.

The *News*, of overpowering prosperity in Detroit and Michigan, its founder dead a decade or more ago, is now run by a son and several sons-in-law. Relinquished first by the elder McLean, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* has been relinquished in turn by the lesser McLean and if its two transits through the probate court were for the better in some respects, they were much for the worse in many other respects.

The Chicago *Tribune*—we have its own word for it that it is the greatest newspaper in the world—is owned and directed by an incredibly affluent set of heirs, some of whom show their devotion to the higher journalistic ideals by using its power of publicity and profits freely to assist themselves into high office.

In St. Louis—leaving out of consideration that more ancient heirloom, the *Republic*—two different sets of heirs in rivalry run the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Globe-Democrat*, both inheritances yielding great rewards.

The *Star* with its morning edition may, lacking competition, still be a great power in Kansas City, but it is not the *Star* Mr. Nelson established, built up and passed at death to legatees.

These eleven papers with circulation running up into the millions and total profits reaching fabulous figures, by no means complete the list of inherited newspaper playthings. That papers of identical status are found, not only in a very large number of smaller towns, but not a few of the other larger cities of the country, shows how general, almost universal, is this condition of newspaper existence as a residuary or other legacy, as a probate appurtenance.

A newspaper run as a newspaper in its own interest is one thing. A newspaper run as an inventoried item of an estate, in the interest of the estate, is another thing.

If the heirs of a great lawyer have no aptitude or ability for the legal profession, they go into something else. But whether they have aptitude and ability or not, the heirs of a great newspaper editor and proprietor invariably fancy that they must of necessity also be great editors and proprietors. The profession is weighted down with men whose status resembles that of certain clergy in England at one time, who came to rectorates handed down as family assets from hand to hand with no breaks in the line of succession due to glaring lack of qualifications.

An editor and an heir are in polar antithesis.

We have passed the day of great creative forces in American journalism. We have come to the day of thrifty conservation of newspaper inheritances, not at all for the sake of the power in ideas they represent, but solely for the sake of the property they represent in dividend-paying values.

Many to whom a great influence in publicity has descended have a laudable, undoubtedly a sincere, desire to run their newspapers as "father" or "grandfather" would run them. To desire is not enough. It is necessary to know how "father" or "grandfather" would run them. And in the know-how nothing has greater importance than the ideas and sympathies developed by training, association and practical experience. Only a newspaper of certain very definite qualities would satisfy the ideals and aspirations of "father" or "grandfather," who came up from the ranks, who knew the thoughts and desires and problems and burdens of the plain people

and who started his little newspaper venture with fear and trembling and never forgot the means by which each thousand or each ten thousand was added to its circulation. Naturally a newspaper of quite different qualities satisfies the ideals and aspirations of his golf-playing son or grandson or nephew, who too often fancies he is expressing the solemn voice of the people, the veritable *Vox Dei*, when he is only expressing the much less authoritative voice of the fellows over at his club.

The New York *Times* is the single instance of a great newspaper property which now remains in the hands of the man who, if he did not create it, at least recreated it. Is there no significance for us in the fact that it is also the single great newspaper property to show in recent years a phenomenal growth in favor and influence?

We have come to a far different idea than we used to have as to the services of such men as Horace Greeley, Willbur F. Storey, McLean and others during the civil war. Some of them were called "copperheads" at the time, a name applied in this war so indiscriminately it will presently be a term of honor. These men of a courageous, red-blooded press held insolent extremists of the war party in check, prevented a thousand projects of extravagance and absurdity from going beyond bounds, compelled the imposition of burdens with some reference to the ability and willingness of the public to bear, induced in war leaders carried away with an immeasurable sense of their own importance a wholesome respect for their masters, the people. What an infinitude of good the thunders of a Greeley could have done for America in the present war.

The standardizing of the press had already proceeded to inordinate lengths before the war. As one sectional bookcase may differ from another of the same pattern only in its greater or lesser number of sections, so differs one American newspaper from another American newspaper. However, some small opportunity for individuality, for thought or pretense of thought, still existed, but even this has ended. With the opening of the war the American press ceased to think. Though deplorable, that is not the most alarming thing in curious journalistic phenomena. The abstention has been so complete and prolonged that it may never be possible to resume the habit of thinking.

Look over these newspapers as they come in from the mails. Flag-waving of the cheapest, most brainless sort, Liberty bonds, thrift stamps, Red Cross. This is the gamut that has countless repetition from New York to San Francisco, supplemented only by supercensored, mercilessly standardized stuff from the fighting fronts.

What solicitude these American newspapers have shown for the interests of the unfortunate average citizen of Belgium; what tender, almost touching consideration for the interests of the average citizen of England. How sympathetically and thoughtfully they have devoted themselves to the interests of the average citizen of France. But where is the newspaper which has, at any time, shown solicitude or vigilance for the interests of the average American citizen, staggering along with a soldier on one shoulder, a sailor on the other and a grasping tax-gatherer on his back and bedeviled every hour of the day by an administrator of this or an administrator of that, assuming to represent a presumptuous war bureaucracy?

A press that would permit the espionage act and other restrictive legislation to pass under the miserable pretense of "war necessity" is just about the sort of press that deserves all the handicaps the espionage and kindred measures impose on war truth-telling.

A press that would submit to have its print paper doled out to it by a Washington board at extortionate prices is just about the sort of a press the politicians would dare to subject to present conditions, placing not merely independence, but existence, in jeopardy.

A press that would permit for a moment any such powers to be placed in his hands as Mr. Burleson



now wields over the people's mails—that would not protest day and night against any such outrageous gag on a free press—is just about the sort of press that would be satisfied with a Burleson on its neck and would still imagine itself independent.

America has a plethora of all things in France except one—an adequate corps of trained newspaper observers of utter fearlessness, mature judgment and intense Americanism to tell the people the truth about how American lives and American money are being spent. But with other non-combatants swarming along the lines of communication and imposing heavy burdens on transport and subsistence, the number of papers permitted to send staff correspondents has been ridiculously limited and the few correspondents sent narrowly restricted in freedom of expression. With almost negligible exceptions our newspapers have acquiesced tamely in conditions forcing them to depend on the standardized reports of the press associations and the syndicated stuff of London correspondents of painfully insular, pro-British view. In this one fact one may take the measure of our national press today, its initiative, aggressiveness, independence and Americanism.

It is not that there is a greater lack now than formerly of newspaper men of authentic creative genius, nor that the reading public does not prefer an unstandardized to a standardized press. Creative force and money were a combination always required to establish a successful newspaper, but never was money required in such enormous sums as at present. A description of the adverse conditions that militate against new newspaper enterprises would form an instructive, perhaps startling, narrative for which "The System" would form an appropriate title. To say that the typical American newspaper—generally conducted by the heirs-at-law—must represent the ideas and desires of the people because it continues to exist and prosper, is the same thing as saying that the Standard Oil company, back in the old bad cinch days, must have embodied correct American business principles because it continued to exist and to prosper amazingly. Indeed, a proposition to establish a new newspaper in a given field is at present just about as attractive to capital as a proposition to set up a rivalry to the Standard Oil company in territory which it dominates, or one to parallel the New York Central Railroad. And on those rare occasions when capital is found with a readiness to venture a newspaper experiment, it is almost invariably to exploit some purpose—the protection of a special interest or the promotion of a personal ambition—that negatives the very idea of a newspaper run on newspaper principles and renders the creative talent it may have attached to itself as helpless as it is on the old-established newspaper heirloom inherited from papa or grandpa.

Will there be an improvement after the war? We may believe so. The American press has got so far away from the people it can get little farther. Any change must be for the better.

♦♦♦♦

## Mr. Archer on India

By Edwin Hutchings

WHEN one of the ablest and fairest of critics writes only because he cannot resist the impulse to say what needs saying, the product is worthy of serious consideration. William Archer is in many aspects a considerable figure in the English-speaking world of thought and things, and his subject in this instance is one of world-importance. He is as honest as a human man can be in debate. If he overstates his own conviction, he suggests in outline what the opposite argument is.

"India and the Future," published in New York by Alfred Knopf, is a well ordered and exceedingly well made book, the product of abundant observation, and is a logical presentation of Mr. Archer's thesis: India cannot and must not always remain under the present form of British rule. The book is of delightful craftsmanship, and as entertaining as a good novel.

Indian civilization, as he sees it, is unacceptable to the world outside and to the best elements inside the land, and he assures us that this is not because it fails of being European civilization, but because it is a stagnant condition of a race of high potentiality. He blushes when he compares the dignified, distinguished men and women of some of the many Indian races with the Englishmen he sees in the east, and he takes pains to excoriate the prejudice against dark skins as such, showing the world-wide difference between a sun-scorched Aryan and an Ethiopian. But he has small patience with the traditions of India's former glories and greatness, or with the native belief that this present incubus of foreign rule is merely another of the long series of misfortunes in the history of a nation that is superior to all others.

Mr. Archer sees a well-marked geographical unit, but no real unity. There has long been a congeries of heterogeneous tribes, more or less united by one or two of the great religious faiths, but split into several thousand castes. He inveighs against caste and child-marriage, infanticide, and the suttee, with cold bitterness. It all supports his argument that India, of herself, is not ready for self-government. And if England does not hold the land, some other power will, for better or for worse. For Mr. Archer cannot be accused of living in a non-existent world. He has that practical mind that in a coarse man leads gentle souls to execrate British rule, a rule that has admittedly been a hob-nailed trampling upon many weaker peoples. The usual fallacy of conquering states is that, inasmuch as their form of civilization is the best in the world, ergo, it must be rammed down the throats of lesser breeds, for the good of their souls.

Something of this racial assurance, and some human inability to combine all of the charms and powers in one mind, Mr. Archer necessarily exhibits. He sees around a larger arc than most men, but some of the subtler things subtend larger angles than he is aware of. Try as he will, he is unable to approximate an understanding of the philosophy and religion of India. Elsewhere than in the chapters he devotes to this subject and cognate matters, he admits his unfitness to pass upon questions that are outside of his experience; but he is very sure that he knows how to appraise the hidden things of Oriental philosophy. Yet he reveals his lack of sympathy, even of reverence, for the mystic and the esoteric, almost inadvertently, for he wishes to be courteous; and in the end he makes poor amends by praise of the missionaries—of his own race. He wishes and asks proofs, evidence, something that will have evidential value when weighed in his own scales. It is the age-old conflict. In this particular instance the truth is significantly set forth that the Occidental can walk among Orientals and never come into real touch. "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

In brief what has sanitation, or the material civilization expressed in terms of railways and elevators, to do with man's inner life or even his happiness? Does any follower of Jesus believe that life was less inherently livable in Judea than it is in New York? Is the glory of Greece the dimmer because there were no telephones on her battlefields, and Pheidippides brought the news from Marathon in that first heart-breaking Olympic run?

In discussing educational matters, Mr. Archer presents a clearer view, as one who knows his ground better. There is vast, unbelievable illiteracy in India, and the defects of the present system are many, the difficulties almost insurmountable in a land where the population multiplies to the very verge of the subsistence that is possible in a good crop year. Famine hangs threateningly over a land of low fertility, with thrice the population of the United States and less than half the area.

From the accumulation of his impressions of Indian conditions he builds his case for English control as a means and not an end. He believes that England cannot honorably renounce the responsibility

which, wisely or unwisely, she has once for all assumed. Not implausibly, he affirms that the India of the future can never be the India of the past, whatever that older form actually was. The moving finger has writ. The Occident, at least, believes that the Orient has been changed. "The East was fated to fall under the influence of the West, because the East denied, while the West affirmed, the potency of Time as a factor in human affairs. Therefore, I am unmoved by the sarcasm of that able Japanese writer, Okakura Kakuzo, when he exclaims: 'You talk of the Yellow Peril—but what about the White Disaster?'" England's Indian history and destiny are summed up thus: "The task of opening passes through the mountains of ignorance fell to England, and not to France or another, because England, at the critical period, happened to command the sea. The bait which lured her on was commercial advantage, and for some time, before she realized her true mission, she pursued that advantage unscrupulously and even ruthlessly. But it was not long before her better instincts awoke, and she saw herself, not in the light of an irresponsible trafficker, but of a guardian and trustee. It is upon her more and more perfect realization of the duties involved in this relationship that the success of her great undertaking, in my judgment, depends."

His plausible theory of India's political future and her socialized destinies is modestly put forth as one that has been clearly stated by statesmen of the past—in 1819 by Elphinstone, in part by Macaulay in 1833, and by other men of affairs, but forgotten by more recent leaders. In 1911 the governor-general in council sent a dispatch to the secretary of state for India, suggesting a larger share for the Indians in the government, leading to local autonomy, but Lord Crewe repudiated the proposal, and affirmed: "The maintenance and perpetual continuance of British rule is the best way of securing the happiness of the Indian people." Mr. Archer comments: "If the British government thinks that even the sanest and most law-abiding citizens of India sincerely accept the principle laid down by Lord Crewe, I believe it to be laboring under a disastrous illusion." A few years ago the powerful Gaekwar of Baroda "hinted at a federation of states under a central government," but the idea could not be openly advanced, for it was seditious.

Mr. Archer epitomizes his views in these closing words: "We must recognize—I repeat the phrase for the twentieth time, for it puts the matter in a nutshell—that our rule is a means, not an end. It is not a good in itself, but an alternative to greater evils. Only on condition that it is recognized as such can it ever be tolerable to enlightened and self-respecting Indians—the class which we have ourselves done so much to enlarge, and which must inevitably go on growing. We can reasonably ask these Indians to co-operate with us in the enfranchisement of their countrymen—enfranchisement, in the first instance, from age-old spiritual and social bonds—but we cannot expect them to co-operate loyally in measures confessedly directed to perpetual enthrallment. . . .

"Without skulking behind a 'perhaps' or an 'almost,' I make bold to call our rule in India the most heroic adventure in history. But every adventure must have an end; and if this one could, by miracle, be eternalized, that would only mean that it had missed the highest success. An end must come; and this book is inspired, however inadequately, by the desire and hope that it may be a glorious one."

♦♦♦♦

## Railway Accounting

By Francis A. House

OWING to the growing complexity and scientific systematization of modern business, taken in a broad sense, accounting has become one of its most important departments. This can be said especially in regard to the administration of the affairs of great corporations and associations. To these, the expert, keen-minded accountant is today as indispensable as the constant advice of eminent



counsel. His directing influence is felt in every direction. He is, indeed, so prominent in economic life, so decisive a factor in many respects, that some of those who honor him highly stoutly hold that he should be considered as one of the leaders in the onward march of democracy.

In view of this, as also of the increasing emoluments attached to the office, it is not surprising that books dealing with accountancy should be multiplying. Among those lately published, one of the most serviceable and informative is that entitled "American Railway Accounting" (Holt, New York). Its author is Henry C. Adams, professor of political economy and finance at the University of Michigan, who for about twenty-five years, that is, from 1887 to 1911, had charge of the statistical and accounting department of the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington. Though intended to discuss only the duties of railway accountants, the details, difficulties and problems they have to wrestle with, the text of nearly two hundred pages contains much matter of general interest. There are many valuable hints, many helpful asides, likewise extensive appendices, for accountants connected with banking, commercial, and industrial institutions. Even ambitious university students, seeking more than ordinary knowledge of practical affairs, should find compensating profit in close, diligent perusal. Quite frequently we are given glimpses of the higher lights of political economy, or reminded, either clearly or vaguely, of matters that in the past ten or twelve years have occasioned much argument in legislatures, courts, and commissions.

The technical merits of the book are enhanced, and its general interest is vivified, by the reflection that since its completion the transportation systems have been taken over by the national government, temporarily at least. Though this particular phase of the subject is not discussed, it is brought to our attention, occasionally, in anticipatory or premonitory fashion. We are told, for example, that "transportation in the United States is in fact, though not in form, an organized service unit. Railway construction, as well as railway equipment, is fairly well standardized, and, within broad lines, internal as well as external, management conforms to uniform rules. Greater uniformity in operating methods would not be practiced were the railways the property of a single corporation or of the federal government."

I take it that Professor Adams is prepared to concede that the latter sentence is subject to material emendation at present. Further on we read that this drift towards a unified system is not primarily due to the fact that the federal and state governments exercise supervisory jurisdiction over several tendencies and conditions. Thus, "provision for interchange of freight, and a desire to eliminate reloading for through freight, is responsible for the standardization of equipment, and, to a certain extent, for standardizing the track. The struggle for economy and efficiency, also, results in the extensive use of joint facilities and the employment of joint employees, both of which tend to the standardization of administrative rules. The fact that the same express companies, fast freight lines, terminal and lighterage companies, as well as the post-office department and the Pullman company, operate in connection with independent railway lines, tends to the general adoption of uniform contracts and operating arrangements."

The unit of railway operation is the railway system, and not the railway corporation. The development of the systems are of secondary importance, "but the legal forms by which they are held together, the agreements for distribution of system revenues, the contracts that define the relation of railways to mining, lumbering, and other lines of business covered by railway capital; the administrative rulings that pertain to a hundred and one operations ancillary to the management of a great railway property—these, and many other significant features that might be mentioned, are of prime interest to the accountant because they control his system of records. These

contracts, agreements, arrangements, and administrative rulings give rise to inter-corporate, inter-divisional, and inter-industrial accounting." From the passage quoted even the superficially informed should obtain an instructive idea of the intricacies of railway accounting. Some relief, some simplification has no doubt been brought about since the close of 1917—not much, though. Accountants now have to contend with the standard forms of contract lately introduced by Director-General McAdoo.

The railway accountant *comme il faut* must be exceptionally well informed on a great variety of subjects. His knowledge must fall but little short of being encyclopedic. He must, *inter alia*, be acquainted with federal and state laws, municipal ordinances and rulings of courts thereon, so that his records may be so organized as to enable him, easily and without great expense, to set forth the private and proprietary interests involved in the claims urged by the government with respect to this class of property. Indeed, the government's policy, so far as it rests on the fact that railway property is imposed with a public interest, stands back of and gives character to the task of the railway accountant.

The foregoing makes it sufficiently plain that the author has lofty conceptions of the duties of accounting. In order to forefend suspicions of idealistic theorizing, I hasten to say that he himself is not oblivious of the danger to which he exposes himself in this respect. For he admits the possibility of his putting too much emphasis upon the philosophy of business management, and then informs us, with amiable nonchalance, that a prominent railway accountant, who read a chapter in manuscript form, had dared to disagree with him in the following blunt language:

"You have quite a different point of view than the ordinary accountant or auditor. The purpose of the revenue accounts is to secure the revenue accruing as the result of the activities of the corporation. All accounting methods have as a purpose to 'get the money.' Thus, a freight way-bill is reported to the auditor by the agent at the originating station and also by the destination station. The auditor thus secures the information upon which he requires the remittance of the revenue, if prepaid from the original station and if collected from the destination station. The checking done by the auditor is not so much to secure a correct record and complete report as to secure the entire revenue through the means of these reports, and incidentally he secures a correct record."

Professor Adams readily acknowledges the point urged in the "practical man's" criticism, but properly ventures to question whether or not a record incidentally obtained from the routine of primary audits can prove a practicable method of testing current operations or for outlining future policies. Such records, he declares, do not come of themselves—they are the product of assiduous study and infinite pains. Besides, he adds, his book is a commentary and deals only with fundamentals. He might have pointed out, too, that "practicability" has become a very flexible term, particularly that variety of it which strives "to get the money," first, last, and all the time. Much of what used to be regarded as utterly impracticable twenty years ago, is now honored even among "practical men." The range of the practical is constantly widening, while its connotations are rising to higher planes, even in the offices of corporations that had been suspected of having no souls.

Inasmuch as the accountant's books, if faithfully kept, are sources of reliable information concerning development of properties, he may rightfully claim that his work is partly of an historic character. But are they, or have they been, faithfully kept? Professor Adams doesn't think so. He declares that, generally speaking, railway records are open to serious criticism. They are incomplete and inaccurate. Construction accounts, for example, are not satisfactory when used in the general balance sheet statement, and it is because this is true that congress

finds it necessary to undertake valuation of railway properties. With regard to this subject in particular, it should be stated that the results of official investigations into original cost of construction and present valuations have been far from satisfactory. There has been a great deal of caustic animadversion upon them, from railway officials and investors in especial. It found vent even in the halls of congress. In part, it was thoroughly justified, I think, and that for reasons which I set forth, in brief form, in REEDY'S MIRROR, at the time the bill authorizing appraisal was pending in Washington. All accounting records, says our author, contribute to the forming of fundamental balances, namely, the balance measuring cost of property, the balance measuring net operating revenues, the balance measuring current surplus or deficit, and the balance sheet statement of accumulated profit or loss. To one who knows railway operations and accounts, the movement in these balances from year to year discloses the direction in which the system is moving, for they yield needed facts for those who desire to know the degree of prosperity which has attended the operations, and it is from these that an outside auditor or an examiner sent by the government, will start his investigation, and "the degree of confidence which may be placed in the integrity of the four balances is one of the accepted tests of sound accounting."

In discussing the compelling nature of an important, established rule, of a rule, that is to say, which cannot be violated without inviting disaster, the author takes occasion to remind readers that it is an accepted principle, not only of accounting, but also of law, that dividends should be paid out of current or past profits, that the only other source available for such purposes is capital, and that the payment of a dividend which impairs capital involves deceit of stockholders.

Gross violation of this axiomatic precept of finance has been responsible for many insolvencies and receiverships. Its high merits should be obvious to all intelligent stockholders, particularly to those who owned the shares of the defunct Rock Island Railway Company of New Jersey. Owners of the New Haven & Hartford, also, should be capable of commenting feelingly upon the fine points of the rule mentioned. Their interests were badly damaged by excessive generosity in dividend distributions, though their property has thus far eluded complete bankruptcy, in consequence, mostly, of timely assistance from the federal treasurer. That they may be spared the extreme penalty of culpable indiscretion on the part of former officials and bankers is earnestly to be hoped.

Another reprehensible because perilous practice is the declaration of a net revenue, or of a surplus, without having included in deductions from revenues all form of expense incurred in the production of such revenues. According to Professor Adams, "an accounting rule which requires that adequate repairs, replacements, and depreciation should be made a current charge against revenues, is a business law of self-preservation."

Happily, federal and state legislatures, and particularly the interstate commerce commission, have since 1908 brought about numerous salutary reforms. Even if not under national control, none of the leading railway companies would today have the effrontery to pay unearned dividends, or to have recourse to questionable methods in drawing up annual statements. Some five or six years ago the Chicago, M. & St. Paul Railway company got a hot rebuke from the Interstate Commerce Commission for having issued misleading reports. The transgression was not very serious. It didn't involve moral obliquity, so far as I can recollect. It seemed to be the outcome, mainly, of ignorance or carelessness. But it aroused the indignation of the commission, all the same, and put the official ban forever upon statements containing inaccurate figures or equivocal items. It is my belief that the time is not far off when every railway accountant will, like the national bank examiner, be an official of the Washington government.



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### The Educational Crisis

By John William Withers

Superintendent of Public Schools, St. Louis

This is a statement given to the press in connection with the agitation in behalf of increased salaries for teachers in the St. Louis Public Schools.

I have frequently been asked whether or not as Superintendent of Instruction I intend to recommend an increase of salaries, and how much. I shall certainly recommend an increase. Just what increase will be recommended I feel I have no right to say publicly before presenting the matter before the Board of Education. I can, however, with perfect propriety, say that I shall certainly recommend all that the condition of the Board's finances will permit it to spend at this time for this purpose. I would recommend more if it would be worth while to do so, not, however, merely for the sake of the teachers, although they certainly deserve it, but for the sake of the schools, for they need that this be done even more than the teachers need that their salaries be increased.

Just what the Board will do with my recommendation I cannot say, nor have

I a right to attempt to commit them in advance to any proposition which I may submit. I do think that the Board, without exception, will favor an increase in salaries, for I am sure they appreciate the gravity of the situation and will try to meet it just as far as it is possible for them to do so.

This problem is a very serious one. It is, however, not merely local or peculiar to St. Louis, as you perhaps know. There is in fact a great shortage of teachers everywhere and conditions are growing worse. In New York city alone there are more than eight hundred schoolrooms for which teachers have not been found. This is equal to a city with a population almost as large as that of Kansas City entirely without teachers. The high schools of New England began the present year with less than one-half of their old teachers. Teachers as a body, both men and women, are attached to their profession and hate to leave it. They have carefully prepared themselves for it and know, better than any other class of people, the real value of their work. But they are being driven out of this work contrary to their own will by the high cost of living and by the greater rewards of other occupations that are available to them at this time.

I have been frequently asked whether



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or not I intend to recommend retrenchment of any kind in the Department of Instruction. To this I answer that I shall certainly not recommend the curtailment of any activity of any division of the Department of Instruction that I consider essential to the maintenance of the present high standard of our work. This should be the very last resort. No greater damage to the schools could occur than a hasty, ill-advised attempt to lop off any one of these divisions or otherwise interfere with the essential functions which they are intended to serve. Though the situation is a very critical one, for that very reason this is no time for hysteria, no time to lose one's head. Improvements in the various divisions of the department can be made that will ultimately cut down the expense of maintaining them. To cut off these divisions in order to save money for increasing salaries or for any other purpose at this time would be a very serious mistake unless, of course,

it should be absolutely necessary and the last resort, which, I am sure, is not the case. Neither vertical nor Spencerian writing has been taught in the schools for at least fourteen years. Spencerian writing was the vogue some twenty-five years ago. It was not, however, very successfully taught in the schools. Vertical writing, as being considered much more legible, was introduced by Dr. Soldan early in his administration but was abandoned by him long before he died. The present system in use in the schools is what is known as a modified Palmer system. As to how successful it has been, one has only to examine the St. Louis Survey Report which shows by objective tests that are as scientific as they can be made how St. Louis compares with other cities of the country in the rapidity and quality of the pupils' writing. The report shows that we easily stand at the top.

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or not the Hygiene and Physical Training departments could not be dispensed with and money saved for teachers' salaries in this way. The United States Government itself would be after me if I recommended anything of this kind. The present war has made the nation more keenly conscious than anything else could have done of the absolute need of taking all possible care of the health and physical fitness of our people and the hygienic and physical education of our children. A bill was introduced into

congress on the tenth of this month by Senator Hoke Smith providing for a National Department of Education with a secretary of education in the President's cabinet, and appropriating \$100,000,000 for the promotion of elementary and high school education throughout the United States. The bill has the sanction of the President and is backed by every national educational organization in the country.

The Committee on the National Emergency in Education, of which I have

had the honor of being a member, was made responsible for promoting this type of legislation. Twenty millions of the money will be spent on the medical and dental examination of children of school age, the determination of mental and physical defects in such children, the employment of school nurses, the establishment and maintenance of school dental clinics and the instruction of the people in the principles of health and sanitation. The bill will almost certainly pass, and if it does, not any of the above

\$20,000,000 will be spent on a school system which has not established efficient departments of hygiene and physical education. It wouldn't come with very good grace, would it, if St. Louis were to abandon at this juncture admittedly two of the most efficient departments of their kind in America?

The question of eliminating music and art supervision has also been suggested. I am inclined to think that the people of St. Louis would be far more opposed to retrenchment of this kind than at any



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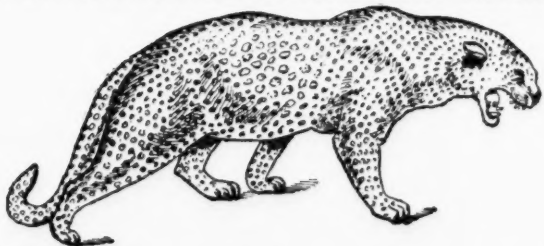
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past time. The war has also brought this home to us in a very positive way. We are coming to see as never before the place and value of music in democratic life and in helping to promote national unity and solidarity, as well as the spirit and morale of the nation. The same thing may be said, though from a different point of view, concerning art. The great industrial struggle that will be on after the war will force upon us more than we have yet thought of, recognition of the necessity of greatly increasing the value of our commercial products not only by making them useful and durable but also by making them beautiful. We must, as a people, learn not merely to appreciate but also to produce aesthetic values in the things we manufacture and attempt to sell and in the common and useful things of everyday life. Not less of art instruction but art instruction better adapted to the needs of industry is what we need. The national taste must be elevated and refined. I am inclined to think that nobody knows this better than the successful business men, who have been showing an increasing appreciation of values of this sort in the character of their advertising. To take a concrete example, compare the window advertising of the down town stores of today with what this was ten or fifteen years ago.

No, I do not think we want to put less emphasis on music and art than we have done in the past. Even if we were to eliminate from the work of public education in St. Louis the supervision of music, art, penmanship, and physical training, the amount that could be saved and applied to increasing the teachers' salaries would be negligible. The cutting out of all of these departments would add to the salaries of the teachers less than nine cents per day.

♦♦♦

## Letters From the People

Museums and Education

New York, October 28, 1918.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

Educational forces are of many kinds. Classroom teaching is but one phase of an enormous network of possibilities. One has only to consider a modern post-graduate course at Columbia or Harvard to appreciate the wide reach of the meaning of teaching. But there is another direction in which this force may reach the people. It is by making museum collections accessible. This means many things. It means leading people—meaning all of us—directly to the objects and explaining their value as cultural assets in terms which can be understood according to age, race and at least group predilections; not to mention educational status, profession or manual trade experience. The class of children that follows its school book heroes through the paintings, the college class in history that sees mediaeval life in tapestries and glass and church sculpture, the artisan that follows technical methods of the past through the better designs of another day, all of these are being educated in a very direct and effective way. What is more, there is available now in the Metropolitan Museum complete machinery of administration and teaching busily engaged in making this type of education

carry to the largest number; and this machinery is running to its full capacity. But the Metropolitan Museum is only one of many and our nation numbers over one hundred millions. Can this museum, or can all the museums, without other educational help produce the fifty thousand designers we shall need when the last gun has been fired in the grim struggle over there? Shall the museums found schools to help their other agencies of instruction? Shall the museums themselves advocate by teaching methods the actual making of a native style in art more or less to order and more or less out of whole cloth? What has the museum to do with an American style?

The museum carries the torch forward by showing the best that has been done, wherever possible, also the best that is now being done, for the benefit of the people as well as man specifically for the benefit of the artist, craftsman and artisan of today. In this it subscribes to the fundamental factor in all progress, namely that which fosters growth of style in art as an evolution along inspirational lines with the aid of formal interpretation on the basis of the objects which are conserved in museum galleries. Only in this way will any native style in American art come about, for we have not the problem of the aborigines who wrestled directly with unconquered nature and found there the new materials and forms to write their story for the future.

When the museum has made its collections thus available, useful and in fullest extent directly influential in the growth of American design it has fulfilled its duty. But there is something also needed. American taste will grow; keen observers among us can watch its slow developing process. Dealers will note that their salespeople have in many cases been left behind by the American woman who spends half a billion on home furnishings in this country each year. Craftsmen's products are improving with phenomenal speed. But how many craftsmen have we? And whence do they hail? Did we train them in America? Have we any schools that could produce the least of them?

It is in this direction that the museum must find its team-mate. There must be schools, schools, always schools, to drive home the immutable fact that America must have art, the best and plenty of it, and that at once!

We will not make an American style over night—the gods forbid—but we can produce craftsmen and designers who will make such use of the fine things of the past shown in our museums that the American style will gradually take shape. The initial step must soon be taken. Europe has no designers to give us, even to lend us. Those who remain will be retained by their home countries, and America will again be forced to buy abroad. Where are the giants who will lead in the great and essential task of founding our first great school of industrial arts, a school which will have guaranteed success by reason of the very names that grace its beginnings?

The Metropolitan Museum—our museum—has taken splendid leadership, it teaches, guides, publishes, helps manufacturers and designers and craftsmen and children by the thousands from fac-



tories and workshops and schools. Let the other institutions of like kind take their example thereby. But we must have more; we must have schools of industrial art, we need fifty thousand designers of the finest calibre and we need them before the end of the war.

RICHARD F. BACH,  
Associate in Industrial Arts.

♦♦♦

### A Camp Librarian Wanted

The librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, Dr. Bostwick, who has the matter in charge, reports that he is having some difficulty in finding a person to act as Camp Librarian at Jefferson Barracks. Two librarians have already gone into military service. The war service of the American Library Association, of which this camp library is a part, is of special value at Jefferson Barracks, since it is a recruiting station and the recruits are not subject to intensive training during their short stay, but have more than the customary time at their disposal for reading. The position does not necessarily call for library training, but the incumbent should be a person of education, intelligence and adaptability.

♦♦♦

### Marts and Money

Things are not going very well on the New York stock exchange. While business is broad enough, movements are rather irregular and treacherous, and liquidation is unpleasantly heavy, at times, in some important quarters. According to the sapient ones, peace has not yet been fully discounted in the values of numerous industrial and mining stocks. Some lofty, painful tumbles are yet to be witnessed, for there's increasing skepticism about stability of dividend rates and fond hopes of affluent, accommodating money markets. The finance committee of the U. S. Steel Corporation cut the quarterly extra rate from \$3 to \$2 the other day, and thereby precipitated a \$7 break in the quotation for its common stock, which is close to 100 at the present moment, the lowest level since last June, when 96 7/8 was reached. Justification for the reduction can be discovered in the report for the three months ended September 30. Net income is placed at \$32,069,392, against \$52,399,483 for the previous quarter, while the final surplus after preferred and common dividends stands at only \$3,840,561, against \$19,017,375. The finances of the corporation feel the effects of severe federal taxation. For the nine months ended September 30, the total sum charged off to this item is \$224,288,795. The latest quarterly appropriation for taxes amounts to more than 70 per cent of total earnings. Naturally, Wall street felt terribly shocked over these disclosures, at least it attitudinized that way. Long-headed traders had been looking for such developments months ago. The regular quarterly rate being \$1.25, the stock now is on a basis of 13 per cent per annum, after having been on a 17 per cent basis since June 29, 1917. With the price down to almost par, it would appear that speculators are inclined to look for another cut in the next six months. If there were real confidence in the corporation's ability to maintain a 13 per

cent rate for at least a year, the stock would certainly be considered as being worth much more than 100 1/2. About two months back, E. H. Gary, chairman of the corporation, orated quite felicitously about conditions and prospects in the iron and steel industry, burdensome taxation notwithstanding. Too bad. The poor old chap has always been suffering from an aggravated case of optimism. Besides, he has frequently been pitifully unfortunate in choosing his moments for vocalizing his opinions. One of his worst outbreaks was that of June, 1907, when he prophesied long and unadulterated prosperity all around—member? Of course, that wasn't a very bad year for the corporation, anyhow, seeing that the finance committee and affiliated bankers and brokers succeeded in pulling off that little deal in Tennessee Coal & Iron, after having obtained a plenary indulgence from the then pontifex maximus at the White House. But I'm digressing. Well, as I said, Wall street is afraid of another slashing of the Steel common dividend. Moreover, it is worrying a lot concerning some other fat payments on industrial stocks. There's Bethlehem B common, which sold in multitudinous quantities at and around 155 a little over a year ago. It is purchasable at 62 1/2 at this writing, though entitled to another quarterly dividend of \$2.50. The price quoted is about four points under the absolute minimum set in 1917. So we are justified in the belief that stock exchange fellows have definitely determined that the Bethlehem Steel Corporation must lower its dividend rate also, and that at an early date. A purchaser at 65 obtains more than 15 per cent on his money. That's a trifle too much, don't you think? Nine or ten per cent would be plenty in this case. There was some mighty good selling in Bethlehem B stock two or three months ago, after the price had been lifted to 86 and 87. Seemed to be a case of "sauve qui peut." However, it is barely possible that the dynamic Schwab may play another clever trick as soon as the depressionistic crowd has become deeply enmeshed on the short side of his stock. But it won't be a grand coup, if it is perpetrated. The time has passed for another spectacular boom of the 1915-16 kind. Illusions perdues—lost illusions. The growing disquiet respecting industrial trials has affected even American Beet Sugar common, which draws quarterly dividends of \$2. The price is down to 58, or twenty-eight points under the top mark of some months ago. As much as 108 1/2 was paid in 1916. In March, 1917, the company disbursed an extra dividend of \$12. In view of the scantiness of supplies of sugar throughout the world, one feels at a loss to account for the sharp depression in this particular instance. The stock sold above 72 before the commencement of the war. It will take a long time before European beet-sugar production will be back to pre-war records. Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, and Belgium were the principal producers for many years, in the order named. The probability is, therefore, that the prices of sugar will be above normal several years longer. It is likely that the outbursts of selling in A. B. S. common and various other stocks of real intrinsic merits may have been the result,



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# Military Footwear Facts

At the very outset of the war Swope's went into the matter of Military Footwear with great thoroughness.

They did not just try to "cash in" on the country's unpreparedness by selling so-called army shoes without regard for their complete suitability for the requirements of active service.

After the first grand rush to get outfitted, the following facts gained general recognition:

1. That Swope Military Footwear was properly designed—indorsed by leading military authorities.
2. That Swope's fitted these shoes properly—very essential.
3. That Swope prices were decidedly moderate.

These facts are still true and will remain so, and the great variety of

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Puttees

Army Boots  
Field Boots  
Wool Socks

Shown at Swope's makes selection pleasant, prompt and permanently satisfying.

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"Teitzel"  
Boots



Sole Agency—

"Doughboy"  
Officer's Shoe

in part, of enforced liquidation in connection with curtailment of brokers' loans. Railroad shares are relatively firm, though affected by vigorous selling for both accounts every two or three days. It is evident that a large proportion of the buying in the last few weeks was of the marginal variety, for people, that is to say, who bought for a turn of a few points and are prone to unload at the first sign of liquidation in any department of the stock exchange. Union Pacific common is quoted at 131¾, as against a high record of 138½ two weeks ago. New York Central, which is rated at 79, shows a loss of a little over three points. Reading common has depreciated five points. Railroad bonds indicate slight improvement again, amounting to a full point in some instances. In fact, the

general bond market has acted quite well lately. It displayed increased resiliency, owing, no doubt, to enlarged demand for investment account. Liberty bonds, too, are quoted at higher prices. The 4½s are selling at 97.70 to 98. They are about even with the first 4s and above the second 4s by notable margins. The weekly statement of the clearing-house institutions discloses a decrease of \$45,000,000 in loans, and a decrease of \$79,000,000 in excess reserves. The latter item now stands at \$54,181,000. Stock exchange folks have about made up their minds that the season of serious stringency in money markets is drawing to a close, owing, largely, to the impendency of peace and the cessation of demands for war purposes foreshadowed thereby. It's significant, though, that

despite the hopefulness of conjectures anent this subject, speculative values refuse to respond to bullish manipulations in vigorous manner, and that even representative bond values continue at levels materially below those existent in 1913 and the early months of 1914. Further enhancement will be conditioned upon the pace of absorption by investors of the many billions of dollars of war bonds issued in America and Europe. The process will be long and laborious. Let's be quite sure about that.

## Finance in St. Louis

The local market for investment paper shows perceptible improvement. Business is increasing and holders have firmer views about intrinsic and future values. The leading features, at present,

are National Candy common and American Bakery common. The first named has moved up to 58.50. Realizing sales are quickly absorbed, though they naturally tend to impede the advance. More than three hundred shares were transferred in the last few days. American Bakery common is rated at 22, which means a new maximum. The total turnover comprised about one hundred and thirty shares. Further betterment appears almost inevitable in this case, owing to unquestionable speculative attractions. Twenty shares of Fulton Iron Works common brought 39 to 40; twenty Ely-Walker D. G. common, 103; sixty-five of the second preferred, 77; twenty-five Certain-teed common, 35; six of the first preferred, 82; seven of the second preferred, 75, and ninety International Shoe common, 99.50. United Railways 4s are down to 48.50, \$2,000 having been sold at this figure. The feebleness of support in this case is quite significant. Fifteen shares of Bank of Commerce were taken at 116 to 116.50, prices previously in effect.

## Latest Quotations

	Bid	Asked
Nat. Bank of Commerce....	116	116½
United Railways pfd.....	12	...
United Railways 4s.....	48½	49
St. L. & Sub. 1st 5s.....	50¼	55
Certain-teed com.....	37	37½
Certain-teed 2d pfd.....	78	80
Certain-teed 1st pfd.....	84¾	85¼
Mo. Portland Cement.....	67	...
Brown Shoe com.....	72	74
St. L. Brewing Ass'n 6s.....	60	65
Independent Brew. 1st pfd.....	5½	6½
Independent Brew. 6s.....	35	...
National Candy com.....	55	55½
National Candy 1st pfd.....	105¼	...

## Answers to Inquiries

S. W., Montgomery City, Mo.—Unless you need the cash or intend to buy a desirable dividend-payer, you should not sell your Cuba Cane Sugar common at the current price of 31. Though there are no dividends likely to be declared between now and July 1, 1919, there is more than a possibility that the quotation may soon begin to ascend in anticipation of payments. The company is known to be earning a surplus of about \$3,000,000, after preferred dividends. Heavy liquidation of the common is not probable, the ruling price showing a gain of less than seven points over last year's minimum.

CONSTANT READER, St. Louis.—American Zinc, Lead & Smelting preferred is a decidedly speculative investment, the 6 per cent quarterly notwithstanding. The dividend is safely earned, but conditions will doubtless change materially in the industry after establishment of peace. It would be very risky to purchase in expectation of a great advance. The stock is not active, as a rule, and therefore not a desirable speculation, except for people who feel satisfied if they receive dividend cheques at regular intervals.

QUESTION, Quincy, Ill.—The 4 per cent bonds of the Southern Railway have risen twelve points since December, 1917. It is likely that they will go up several points more before long. They are not a first-class investment, however. Initiation of payments on common stock might lift the price to about 75. Whether such action will be taken soon after termination of federal control is hard to say. Much may happen before that time that might make such a step



most impracticable. All germane things duly considered, you will be better advised if you select a bond drawing at least 5 per cent and quoted at about 88 to 90.

H. O. Z., Terre Haute, Ind.—Canadian Pacific is quoted at 165 at this moment. If you still have a satisfactory profit, take it and await a reaction to about 158 before rebuying. Should it not descend to that level, you still have your profit to fall back upon. If your contract shows a loss, be patient and wait for the next substantial upturn, which must come before a great while and carry the price to about 185. Considering that the price has risen nearly fifty points since last December, the retrogression in recent weeks appears very modest. It amounts to only seven points.

AMATEUR, Philadelphia, Pa.—The Sinclair Oil 7 per cent notes are fairly valued at 94½, the current quotation, which compares with a recent top of 97½. They are not a first-class investment, though. The danger of a relapse to the year's minimum, 86, is not serious, but has to be drawn into consideration in estimating net yield if held till 1920. There's a warrant attached to each bond, which carries right of conversion into stock at 45 to 50 in one to two and a half years. For this reason, the notes offer appreciable speculative inducements.

MARKET, Beaumont, Tex.—Advise holding Pacific Mail. The stock acts well and should reach 40—by and by. It's a speculation rather than an investment, and not heavily traded in, as a rule. The company's earnings are more likely to increase than to decrease after the war is over. Its position is somewhat exceptional in this respect.

♦♦♦

#### More than Equal

Congresswoman Rankin is naturally a staunch advocate for the equality of sex—and then some, and delights to tell of the professor who prided himself upon his advanced and enlightened views concerning women and their place in the scheme of things. He sat next to a very clever woman at a little dinner he attended recently, and, in reply to a remark of hers, cried: "My dear lady, I go farther than believing in woman suffrage. I maintain that man and woman are equal in every way." "Oh, professor!" said the lady very, very sweetly, "now you're bragging."

♦♦♦

Senator Sheppard of Texas sat on the veranda of the Chevy Chase golf club discussing prohibition, and watching a poor player endeavoring to tee off. After the poor player had made half a dozen ineffectual swipes at the ball the senator's companion said: "What the dickens is that fellow trying to do?" "It looks to me," said Senator Sheppard, "as if he were trying to dig himself in."

♦♦♦

A particularly dapper but very small officer was walking down a street one day between two fashionably-attired ladies, and happened to pass by two street arabs, who looked at them with a broad grin, and, much to the discomfort of the officer, one of them said: "Ain't much 'am in that sandwich, is there, Bill?"

## New Books Received

Orders for any books reviewed in REEDY'S MIRROR will be promptly filled on receipt of purchase price with postage added when necessary. Address REEDY'S MIRROR, St. Louis, Mo.

A BOOK OF SHORT STORIES by Blanche Colton Williams. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

A collection of thirteen short stories selected for use in high schools, edited, with introduction and notes, portraits and biographies of the authors.

THE SPANISH FAIRY BOOK by Gertrude Segovia. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., \$1.50.

Fairy tales of Spain translated into English by Elisabeth Vernon Quinn. They reflect the culture, chivalry and customs of ancient Spain more clearly than do usually books of travel. Eight illustrations in color by George W. Hood.

HELEN OF TROY and ROSE by Phyllis Bottome. New York: Century Co., \$1.35.

Two short stories in Miss Bottome's best style.

THE THEORY OF EARNED AND UNEARNED INCOMES by Harry Gunnison Brown. Columbia, Mo.: Missouri Book Co.

A study of the economic laws of distribution with some of their applications to social policy. By the author of "Principles of Commerce." Indexed.

HANDICRAFT FOR BOYS by A. Frederick Collins. New York: F. A. Stokes Co., \$1.50.

A book of occupations and sports; instructions in woodworking and woodcarving, metal work, photography, mechanical drawing, printing, rubber stamping, book binding, glass blowing and etching, through the use of the simplest tools, many of which the boy can construct himself. Illustrated with drawings and diagrams.

ONCE ON THE SUMMER RANGE by Francis Hill. New York: Macmillan & Co., \$1.50.

An unusual romance of a Montana sheep ranch.

STOKES' WONDERBOOK OF THE BIBLE by Helen Ward Banks. New York: F. A. Stokes Co., \$2.50.

The complete story of the Bible retold in interesting story form for young readers. Full page illustrations in colors and in black and white.

ECHOES AND REALITIES by Walter Prichard Eaton. New York: G. H. Doran Co., \$1.50.

Poems to touch the heart and quicken the fancy.

LIBERTY RECIPES by Amelia Doddridge. Cincinnati: Stewart-Kidd Co., \$1.25.

Recipes of plain dishes which enable the cook to easily substitute the foods recommended for use by the conservation board. There are special chapters on bread, meatless dishes, salads, desserts, cakes, cookies and pastries.

A NATION TRAINED IN ARMS by Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$1.25.

The purpose of the author seems to be to show that a militia organization cannot be relied upon to safeguard a nation because of inevitable personal jealousies. Translated from the German. Introduction by Maj. Gen. Sir C. E. Callwell, K.C.B.

THE CITY OF TROUBLE by Meriel Buchanan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$1.35.

An account of Petrograd—the common life of Petrograd—since the revolution, by the daughter of the British ambassador to Russia.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE WORKERS by Percy Stickney Grant. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., \$1.60.

A cogent appeal for a real and not an abstract justice in dealing with the claims of the poor, made after years of study of working conditions. The author is rector of a wealthy and conservative New York church.

♦♦♦

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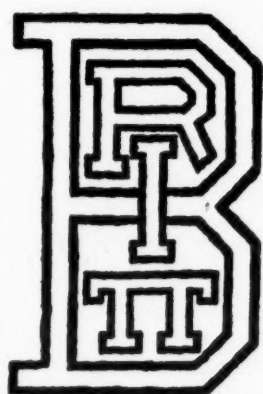
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Joint-Chairman National War Labor Board  
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Gentlemen:

There is no greater need in the world today than that of keeping the public consciousness alive to the underlying social and economic standards which must be maintained if mankind is to move forward to its manifest destiny.

Unquestionably the workers of the world are making advances along the line of greater industrial freedom. Collective bargaining is becoming a fact in countless industries where the autocrat has heretofore reigned supreme. Forums have been established by the Government to guarantee decent conditions to the workers in the industrial trenches. Great regard is being given to their hours of toil as well as to the wages of men and women.

But these are merely steps, and comparatively small ones, in the grand march toward social and industrial regeneration. The Public stands out preeminently as the guide and exemplar of the forces struggling for the fundamental things of life. If the problem of the worker is to be decided finally along the lines of higher justice, it will be done only when the people are wise enough to retain control of what is left of their natural resources and recover back those of which they have been deprived; and that the land, the basis of economic independence, shall be restored to the beneficial use of man.

Every worker in America should be a subscriber to The Public. All lovers of justice are striving toward the same end. The Public points the way.

Washington, Aug. 20, 1918.

Sincerely,

(Signed) FRANK P. WALSH,

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